/116 cont./
361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the sociological system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently changing relationships of the villages to one another give the political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages, and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman. Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this, the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been forgotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the conceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
● 726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages, however, is this series completely identical; there are no extensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent
411 194 a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waiká, Zerries re-
ports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked
173 even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged
411 only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them
● 726

411
415
531

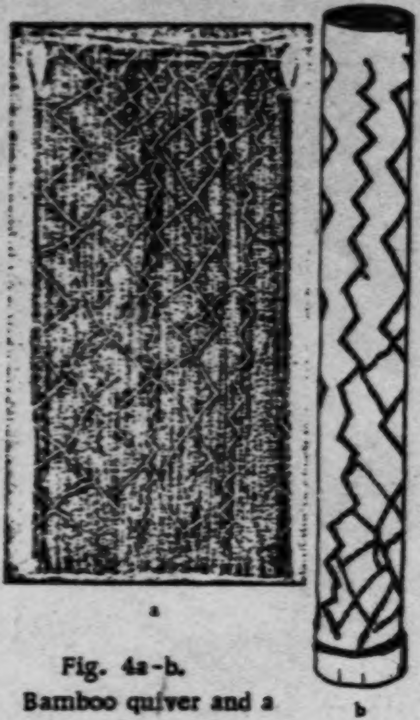

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a
rubbing of the incised
design.

173 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the
411 wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long
726

411 109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

171
578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled,
which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.
111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726] Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and gripps;

> [115] 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160] The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

> [114] 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
● 726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-

[835] 340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára

[171] 341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriána. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[722] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the

[171] 342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all [727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days 727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men [776] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá [782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

---

[171] [302] 343 (cont.) Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

344. The Hôrio and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

/222 cont./
793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins
other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
793 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
784 depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or
other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles,
etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his
hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
● [726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For
the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any
combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and
no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the
"weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why
each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women
[836] of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and
the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[776] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a
[781] priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true
hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great
Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human
flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a
bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as
that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new
hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in
this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the
Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable 411
sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being 411
equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. 824
The simplest pattern is made from the *sehe* palm. They also use a hardwood—
from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost
as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the
few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lahse* of the
Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a
steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of
the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this
they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm
leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre [283]
for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the
river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are [237]
bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which 411
they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, [237]
firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed
prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are [226]
numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so
that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which
pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult
for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very 411
hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the 726
most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger
game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to 411
war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their 726
shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to
the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own [422]
ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and
foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this 721
is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is 628
their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on
fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in [754]
the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread
sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these [753]
vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the
very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest
regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these
bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transfoem into the
meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't [123] *
fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing
moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one 721
native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in 685
which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

/469 cont./

513 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika
352 must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good
574 and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a
[251] shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being con-
726 stantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the
[276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers: these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men
[411] gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him *hors de combat*. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely
726 (411) black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "*conuco*" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/475 cont./

●726 booty without being discovered, because if they were, they would generally have to abandon the prisoner and flee in order to save their lives.

If the invading band is large, that is to say, made up of several settlements, it might be sufficiently strong to attack all of a full settlement. If an entire settlement can be put into disordered flight, many of the women and girls are easy prey for the attackers. Girls between 12 and 18 years of age are regarded as the best booty. It is almost certain that some of the men, especially of the settlement being attacked, will lose their lives or be wounded in the attack. Not always are women the only booty; every kind of object of value is abandoned in the hasty retreat. Such raids do not occur very frequently, but their possibility keeps the population in constant fear of them.

727 After having thus been attacked, the settlement can decide to abandon the entire area and found a new "conuco" in another area, or all of the friendly settlements might be called on to help in the reprisal raids.

712
726 When the enemy camps near a settlement at a distance closer than usual, or if there is some other reason to fear a raid, stockades or palisades are built. Posts and poles about 15 centimeters in diameter and two or more meters in length are tied in a vertical position, closing off all the approaches, particularly the pathways. Palm leaves and weeds are piled up against these walls to prevent the enemy from looking through the interstices. On the outside of these palisades, for a distance of 30 to 50 meters, all the trees are cut and left lying in thick underbrush as one more obstacle for the enemy intruders. Furthermore, under the eaves, at the back part of each and every house, they make an additional wall of sticks of firewood longer than usual. Should an attack occur, the women and children throw themselves against these walls of firewood in the back of the houses, while the men take their defensive positions and shout vigorous war cries, making their bows rattle in order to impress the enemy with their number and preparation.

●726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

123 /154 cont./
At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/
721 bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a
lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men
from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look,
raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did
not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the
[752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pouring
[755] water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon
all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked
us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought
his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did
not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood,
since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a
half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and
went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the
● 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night
and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In
some way the chief and "Yelequei-jũu" managed to pass some
of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild
fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At
this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a
wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other
young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also
state the brave words which he would say.)*

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going
to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti
later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to
[764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The
Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from
Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had
recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatsa-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the
Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river.
Some of the Shibaatsa-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow,
but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They
explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the
Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them.
[302] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid.
[574] (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.)
When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them
[822] where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and
[412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth.
After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people
[361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were
near their main farm.

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatsa-
tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed [illegible] feel freer than at any time
since the first raid by the Shibaatsa-tjeti had put them on the
alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[411] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece
[857] of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the
/157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
● 726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some
came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been
seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/157 cont./

726 628 But when they returned, none seemed overly alarmed. The men commented that it had probably been the Batanoatjeti or Bisheasetjeti on the way to make a raid on the other *aldea*, since they were the most bitter enemies and we were camped between them.

(The Majecototjeti were more or less friends of both *aldeas* at this time.)

726 But about three hours later some came saying that they had found the bow of "Valooboue" and the basket of one of the women lying near the tracks in disorderly fashion. The group had been attacked. Then the men prepared their bows and went out in every direction. There was a discussion concerning who had gone out with one of those already mentioned. "Etemi" (the wife of "Botai"), three of the wives of "Olami-Juu," an old man (the father of the three wives), and "Valooboue" had gone out together to gather moriche fruit. Two other women who had gone out with this group, but who had separated from them and gone back upstream, had already returned to the encampment. They said that they had heard an argument or a shout in the early part of the afternoon, but, not having heard anything else, had thought little of it.

A group of men went out to try to follow the tracks, but the tracks seemed to disappear or turn back on themselves. It was not clear what route the raiders had taken. Probably they had divided up to join forces and reassemble at some point. Finally, it was decided that they had gone back, toward the river, in the same direction that the tracks came from. [123] Toward nightfall the men went to cross the Orinoco River and asked our men as well, who still lived on the north bank of the Orinoco, to look for more tracks at the wharf (only I accompanied them on the trip south of the Orinoco on this occasion).

That night the people who stayed in the camp speculated considerably concerning who the raiders might have been /158/ and how things had happened. Some said that it might be that David London had carried the Shibaatía-tjeti across the river in his boat. "Oh, that David," they said. Others were of the opinion that David would not have done such a thing.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by
a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at
our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by
the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night.
Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti
told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed
the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our
people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatſa-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted
women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatfa-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./

114 721 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574 628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatfa-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away. [123]

/161 cont. /

•726
123
Some women had passed by our house on their way to the aldea. Upon hearing his cries, they turned around and ran towards our house; terrified, they came in and closed the door. Then they told us that a raid was taking place and to go to see if we could help. At first we thought that it would be better to stay in the house also, but then we heard a cry for help not far from our house. Upon hearing this, we opened the door. I went out and found a wounded man who had managed to get to about 20 meters from our house, but could come no farther.

He said, "Please, take out the poisoned arrow." I picked him up and brought him into our house.

I had heard that salt is good against the poison of the curare, but I had no idea of how to administer the salt. Since he was still conscious, I told David to try to take out the arrowhead while I had him drink all the salt water and try to keep it down before he became unconscious. It must have tasted terrible to him, since the Yanomama usually do not eat salt, but he was so desperate that he consented. He was unconscious before David managed to remove the arrowhead, so I gave him artificial respiration, while David finished extracting the arrowhead, because he had stopped breathing. We were never able to find the tip of the point. In spite of this, we put salt in the wound, hoping that it would help somewhat, since he was now unconscious and we did not know with certainty how to administer the salt.

/162/ David went to the aldea to see if anything had happened there to the lame boy or to anyone. I continued with the artificial respiration while he was gone. When David returned, about 20 minutes had passed, and from then on we took turns for almost two hours. His pulse remained good during the whole time. A little before two hours were up, he recovered consciousness and began to talk. He was soon breathing by himself, and we did not continue the treatment, because it hurt him. We stopped and found that he was breathing regularly enough by himself.

During all of this time the women were there looking on (one of them was a believer) and David and I were praying.

/162 cont./

● 726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatfa-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

/163 cont./

123 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had
75 not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

● 726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the
[622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatfa-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimautjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/164 cont./
729 new place located several hundred meters away. The *matadores*
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained
some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They
had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later
their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old
hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of
vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned
with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days,
until the *matadores* thought the *ciclo* /cycle, term/ completed.

• 726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place.
The first *aldea* into which they penetrated was empty, and so was
the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the
principal *aldea*. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti
began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that
farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains
were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it
would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so
much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed.
/Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them
to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It
was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and
made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north
side.

/*165 cont.*/

721 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a
girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her *aldea*.
Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the
Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go
(726) up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "*Ceder*"
outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the
battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an
abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they
manage to get the girl back. Now the two *aldeas* are threatening
to shoot at each other.

621 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /*166*/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether
the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home
when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know
of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite
of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

[Introductory, P. iii]

128 Genealogical data in both sociological and
613 biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate
*621 the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other
602 villages from which this sample village recently split are
*628 presented to show that affinal ties between local descent
groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between
such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent
groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in
the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their
128 members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

• 721 The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to
*182 determine in large measure both the size of the village and
621 the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances
*628 based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn
128 horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence
241 on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political
*628 alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the
182 583 direction of movement of relocated villages.

128 Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis.
721 First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-
*628 village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which
*621 males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that
182 increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females
581 reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage
162 practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the
128 conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is
721 chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages
582 require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between
183 these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social
*182 organization are given to support these conclusions. Third,
628 the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E.
121 R. Leach's contention that the political and economic con-
128 texts within which marriages take place must be considered
581 as part of the ongoing social organization and must be in-
613 cluded in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis
[114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corp-
orations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties
cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

583
582
*621 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more
583 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes
582
183 greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not
*628 followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

*628 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for
574 to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest
*726
562 consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups
*628 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally
583 is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough
582 women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

---

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

*621 is allied to another which can provide it with more military
*628 assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can
722
583 give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women
582 will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for
438 reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least
needs the military aid of the other.

*621 The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as inti-
*628 mately related to village size as might be expected, although,
722
*726 of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare
583
582 successfully over a long period of time from one location.
Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their
location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas
smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect.
Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand
successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller,
allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages
seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alli-
ances are based on the exchange of women.

*621
562 Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size
162 of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males
583
582 to females, for example, is high, partly because of the
182 practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of
[847/ women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is
839
595] prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing
children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the
*621 available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the
578
*628 consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single
721
562
182

*621
578 phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages
*628
721 and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the
562 result of the shortage of women.
182

*621 Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men
578 whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children
834 constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons
837
602 with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons
usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close
relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and
this frequently causes the village to split. The larger
the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will
develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

*621 Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of
182
*628 the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the
578 nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the
602
● 726 neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the
*621 incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears
*628
578 to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the
613
602 affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion.
583 Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two
582 or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each
group establishes an independent village and enters into
marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence
of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but
*621 does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yąnomamö
village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude
578
241 between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

*621 Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes
*628 embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting
241
361 within the village immediately involves shooting to kill.
722 Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to
583 live. They do this because the price of protection is always
582 measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the
839 women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives
*628 in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned
726
574

*628 726 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the
574 hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 241 722 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-*-*-*-*-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[726] [182] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583
582 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
182 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
*726 ethnographic world.

128

B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yąnomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my dis-
cussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
*628 of them have a common history, separating initially about
1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

175 contact with a Yąnomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yąnomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahekodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. Those refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

175 648 726 The second dated event was the abduction of a Brasilian girl from her home in the upper Cauabury area by the members of two Yąnomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of Nabäyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yąnomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yąnomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwä, organized a raiding party, which also included men from

175
648
Karawatari's village.

[726] The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawä, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumöna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwä, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwä's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwä's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwä's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebaböwei-u when Nabäyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. [114] Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabäyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[593]
[152] In Matakuwä's village, Nabäyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwä's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowä-täka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). *[628] [594] On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowä-täka found Nabäyoma in the woods outside Matakuwä's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

175 648 At Patanowä-täka she was given to Husiwä, by whom she had
two sons (Orakuwä and Kariunawä). The approximate date of
* [629] her move to Patanowä-täka is 1935; it could not be much
• [726] later, because a war broke out between Matakuwä's group and
the group at Patanowä-täka shortly after this date, and no
visitors went between these two villages after hostilities
commenced.

* [621] When the Patanowä-täka group separted into two
* [628] villages, Nabäyoma remained with the group that is presently
[726] called Patanowä-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into
hostilities with each other shortly after they separated,
and Nabäyoma's husband, Husiwä, was one of the first casualties.
Nabäyoma, her co-wife (Shǫ̈rökoma), and all their
children fled from Husiwä's group and joined the other,
cognate, group. Shǫ̈rökoma, originally abducted from yet
another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowä-tedi,
but Nabäyoma stayed with Patanowä-tedi's enemies. In 1951
* [583] [628] when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which
Nabäyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for
protection, Nabäyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi,
Remoriwä, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabäyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and
[797] his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still
remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed
the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian
woman was living with the Yąnomamö, presumable abducted by
them from one of the settlements across the border, but

5

175 before action could be taken, Nabäyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinaböwei-tedi), taking with him Nabäyoma, her two sons by Husiwä, and his own son by Nabäyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinaböwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabäyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwä subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yąnomamö are good historians when it
•726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

124 what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much
173 older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

726 That the histories are filled with treachery, great
178 violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yąnomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being
[14] conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

125
849
162
*628
562

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

*629
629
594
•726
361

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Möwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mömariböwei-tedi and the Reyaboböwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Möwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

*629
583
162
562
*621

---

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawä-tedi."

Their dependence
60
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im-
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162
562 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyaboböwei-tedi,
*726
722 being closer, geographically, to the Möwäraoba-tedi, suffered
more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyaboböwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the Möwäraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162
*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained
a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621
726 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
527 by the Möwäraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
165
ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

*162
*628 in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they
*621
• 726 maintain over their Shamatari allies.

527
165 The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the
162 extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the
165 political relationships of the villages to each other in
562
583 terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however,
847 suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher
*628
than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

838 There are several ways the Yąnomamö remedy their
883 woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (*bei kä bosi kuwamou*, *bei kä bosi waumou*) with each
[872] other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (*Šawä*) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult
[839] life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

---

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

*621 562 avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question 162 used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's 837 wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the 578 village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The [164] entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä [584] punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

162 Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is 562 remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, 721 *628 however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this 583 occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully 527 by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the 574 Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a *628 72 feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as 361 groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field • 726 114 work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 114 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 361 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

*628 these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars
726 722 develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable
241 intensity before new gardens can be established, and
361 the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge
with their allies.

786 To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of
241 361 subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic
warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the
lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing
the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they
hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information
collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split
up at Patanowä-täka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to
Shɨhota, an area they knew well because they customarily
hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden
[114] at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting
[521] parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occasions to new areas
not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of
agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of
the day's experiences.

*628 Other factors besides density of jungle, type of
361 241 floral association, and general topography are considered by

---

[839] [513] [1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

#628 722 The politico-military situation in which the Patanowä-tedi found themselves during 1965 dramatically illustrates the importance of allies, i.e., neighbors upon whom one can depend for both military and subsistence items in times of crises. The Patanowä-tedi had been at war with a number of groups to their east and north for several years prior to my arrival in 1964. They managed, however, to hold their own in the wars against these villages, as they were a large group.[1] Earlier wars, and the latent hostilities resulting from these, precluded alliances with the Shamatari villages to their south. Their congeners, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, lived to the west of them, but the nature of the circumstances leading to their separation prevented alliances with these groups. Nevertheless, the Patanowä-tedi made peace overtures to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi from time to time, and sporadic visiting between them began after 1955. In late 1964 the [721] Patanowä-tedi managed to convince the Bisaasi-tedi of their sincerity to renew friendship and visited them, but the Monou-tedi shattered this attempted rapprochement by abducting seven # 726 women from the Patanowä-tedi. The events subsequent to this # 628 incident drew the Patanowä-tedi into yet another war, the proportions of which exceeded the defense capabilities of the Patanowä-tedi: they could no longer remain at one site and prosecute both wars effectively. They were surrounded on all

---

#[621] [1] They had attempted to split into three small groups before getting into the war with their northern and eastern neighbors, but the war forced the three groups to re-unite for defense purposes. See Chapter 5.

*726 sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately,
*628 however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group
(ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south.
[722] The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because
of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom
they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past.
Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari
villages began hostilities against them.

721 The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by
726 the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the
361
*628 Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site.
Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have
been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but
their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their
capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding
against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of all the villages
hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the
726 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's
*628 enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi
into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able
to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and
their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mömariböwei-tedi, and the
Reyaboböwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became
immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the
Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some
distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about 726 722 +628 36 24 a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

162 582 [847] [83]

Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yąnomamö attempt to overcome the shortage, 593 602 613 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate, with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being *[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 601 *628 591 124 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants, Kąobawä's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowä-tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowä-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 602 613 • 726 The weakness of the tie between distantly related agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After the Patanowä-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

---

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

*628 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore,
602 was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related
613
• 726 agnates. Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, parti-
[622] cipated in the raiding against the Patanowä-tedi. In one
skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwä, but
Rakoiwä survived the wound. This man is as closely related
to Kąobawä as most of the men that presently constitute his
agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating
the significance of co-residence in determining the strength
[583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowä-tedi recenlty
joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived,
the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowä-tedi resumed their old
[606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited
[593] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowä-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact
that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowä-tedi.
One of the young men, Sirorowä, told me that he would have
avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwä) and actual brothers,
but would have shot more distant agnates.

*628 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie
726 between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the
602
609 history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi.
622 These two villages are led by men who are classificatory
brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a
brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by
the Yabitawä-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain
man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

*628
726
602
607
622

latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

*621
578
593

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. Hunobawä, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawä, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawä discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawä with a club. Dikawä got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

*628
602
578
613
583

Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowä-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602
578

Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of
978 blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically
593 related. While a father and son may club each other, it is
not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting
or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers,
593 but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally
*621 end up in different villages when a larger village splits,
*628 726 particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should
a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility
that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not
always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim
out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower
a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers
would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one
has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes
sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

*621 Club fights within villages frequently pit close
602 678 agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to
*628 killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates
613 726 will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates,
however, occasionally do fight against each other with the
intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities
between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc
local descent groups of the same lineage.

602 Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to
grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

128 *621 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
613 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 562 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
583 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mömariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[579] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
● [726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 602 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

128 *621 *628 613 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-tedi. [361] [613] The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mömariböwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the *628 Reyaboböwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. 726 In the war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members vis-à-vis others. *628 722 But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964, 701 721 *628 raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowä-tedi at their [727] village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowä-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, 721 726 *621 however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially *[628] [726] accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger 722 *621 numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

174 175 descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shįhowä-tedi and its
*628 *621 splinter village, Mokayäba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies
of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

174 The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of
175 *628 villages allied to Obotawä-tedi over a woman from the latter
721 village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes
583 of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two
groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawä-tedi recruited
aid from their allies, the Bokąoiwä-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi,
and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the
two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from
each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that devel-
174 oped and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawä-
175 tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their
*628 721 garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had
241 722 just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the
Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the
Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the
raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they
moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

174 *628 The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with
● 726 Shįhowä-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but
were on friendly terms with Husirawä-urihi-tedi, a village
000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 175 361 241 The new garden at Mahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-täka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-täka

174 361 *621 This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-täka.

174 *622 726 Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-täka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. [175] The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-täka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

---

[134] [1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

174 Several marriage
*628 alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one
*726
583 of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwä's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174
*621
*628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174
361
*628
796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowä-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowä-tedi from the time it began until now.

174
*628
731
721
(175) In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowä-täka. However, several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwä, Sibarariwä's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwä, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwä with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwä was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 and returned to Patanowä-täka. A segment of the group that
361 *628 returned to Patanowä-täka immediately began making a new
[241] garden (Shɨhota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-
täka, anticipating that further hostilities with the
174 Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club
*627 fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-
726 578 täka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders'
629 arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group
602 [361] at Patanowä-täka abandoned their village and rejoined their
agnates at the latter's new garden, Shɨhota-täka, whence
they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group
from Shɨhota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the
trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found
at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the
Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-
tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

174 *628 With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-
726 tedi raided the Shɨhota-tedi and killed a younger brother of
Makuwä. The Shɨhota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-
tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabäyoma's husband), Hoari, and
Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the
Wanidima-tedi in which the Shɨhota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and
the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their
women, Buhiomi, seized.

174 *628 Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi
727 and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shɨhota-tedi
361 were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one else-
241 where.

174
*628 [illegible]re. In 1949 they moved from Shįhota-täka to Kreiböwei, a
797
361 garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.
241
[195] (3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in
194 the mid '50s: Rashawä and Waiyari were the two new gardens
175 established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separ-
*621
*628 ation was actually completed in so far as each garden was
361 being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions
241 were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowä-täka, and became known as the Patanowä-tedi.

174 The war with the villages north of the Orinoco
*628 started when Yabitawä-tedi and Kashorawä-tedi men killed a
721
578 man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of
*726
602 Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawä, was married to the sisters of
[622] the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi to
[583] avenge his death. A man from Patanowä-tedi was doing bride
[591] service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowä-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Snortly after this event, man from Yabitawä-tedi visited Patanowä-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized
174 a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowä-tedi
726 then began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi, forcing them to take
*628
722 refuge with their allies, the Kashorawä-tedi. Hasaböwä-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowä-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded
*726
*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

174 By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361
602 Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
722 agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowä-täka and Shamata-täka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-täka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi
175
361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the
*628

---

[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-täka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

174 175 Kreiböwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
361 their raids against Patanowä-tedi. Shortly after they moved
722 *628 to Kreiböwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
village, then under the leadership of Riakowä, located on
[574] the Mavaca River. The Kreiböwei-tedi began visiting Riakowä's
village and entered into feasting relationships with his
followers.

174 Riakowä's followers were related to the Shamatari
*175 628 with whom the Kreiböwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwä's vil-
602 lage. Sibarariwä persuaded Riakowä to invite the Kreiböwei-
527 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
574 [723] to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
[721] this Sibarariwä would avenge the murder of his older brother,
Ruwahiwä, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
by the Kreiböwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowä-täka.

174 The Kreiböwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
*175 628 went to Riakowä's village in the dry season (i.e., December
527 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwä's followers, along
574 722 726 with a party of men from Hasaböwä-tedi, were concealed in the
[132] [40] jungle outside Riakowä's village. Shortly after arriving at
the village, the Kreiböwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowä's
men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
were shot from ambush by Sibarariwä's followers, along with
the Hasaböwä-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
174 175 number of Kreiböwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
726 727 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

174 175 727 *726 [103] [241] [752] men for the Kreiböwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreiböwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakäkö where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-täka. Here, the Kreiböwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreiböwei-täka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. *[628] Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreiböwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawä, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreiböwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174 175 721 *628 361 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreiböwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowä's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreiböwei-täka as they proceeded from Riakowä's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

174 175 361 241 *621 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreiböwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreiböwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-täka was producing, however, the Kreiböwei-tedi decided

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 175 to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There 361 241 had been a number of club fights between the two factions *621 over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal 174 feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started 175 241 (Moncu-täka and Barawä-täka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left *621 Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The 978 361 splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other con- 921 siderations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

174 The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as 175 *628 they could. It was rumored that their protectors were *621 361 planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi [578] prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwä- [721] tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank 174 of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that 175 the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi *726 *628 and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the [721] two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

174 Mahekodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the
175
• 726 Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreiböwei-tedi.
*628 This prevented them from killing the Kreiböwei-tedi men and
seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karohi-tedi, two allies of Mahekodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreiböwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakowä's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakowä's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukumöna-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakowä had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahekodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakowä swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakowä and took all the children. On their way back to Mahekodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreiböwei-tedi and the Mahekodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

000 174 175 • 628 579 578 582 • 726 + [620]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

+ 628 583

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kẽkö

174 Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their
361 site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's
722 *621 group. The village at Aramamisi-kẽkö, according to my infor-
[124] ants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and Reyabobõwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 A large segment of the population broke away from the
175 361 main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into
*621 two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from
978 *628 the Aramamisi-kẽkö population developed out of a feud over a
721 woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual
• 726 raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between
174 them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-
175 tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from
*621 *628 the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group.
361 The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

---

[103] [1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

174 others. Matakuwä's group was being raided by Kayabawä's
175 *621 followers and by the splinter group that separated from
*628 Aramamisi-käkö. These raids forced Matakuwä and his followers
[722] to abandon Aramamisi-käkö and settle at Shɨrakoböwei. This
move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shɨrakoböwei

174 175 Matakuwä's followers established several sites in
361 this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawä's
722 *621 followers. An internal village feud developed between the
978 factions led respectively by Karehewä and Orakawä. During
174 the fighting a young man from Karehewä's group was killed
175 *621 with a spear, and Karehewä moved to the Mavaca basin.
361 • 726 Karehewä's followers raided the group at Shɨrakoböwei, and
the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewä to move further
174 north. Karehewä's son, Riakowä, became headman of this vil-
175 622 lage and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which
*628 620 the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village
578 is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowä's
[103] son, Börösöwä. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that
*621 361 Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving
*621 down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted un-
114 successfully to make the first contact with this group, but
my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs
(bridges and trails) made by Börösöwä's group. They feared
Börösöwä would kill us.

174 *621 361 Another faction, led by Waiyahowä, split off from

174 *621 361 [731] Matakuwä's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwä and his group separated from Orakawä and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shɨrakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwä and his followers separated from Orakawä's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwä decided to support Karehewä in the dispute over the death of a member of the [722] latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwä and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shɨhowä-tedi, who continued *[628] to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewä, Matakuwä [726] and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawä's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 Area 3: Boraböwei

195 Matakuwä and his followers moved here about 1910.
361 Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi,
*628 forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a
602 number of years Matakuwä's group lived alternatively between
726 these two sites.
241 Another garden was established at Kaurewä after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwä's group fled to Kayurewä, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

Area 4: Kayurewä

174 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwä's
175 +628 group at Kayurewä, so this site was abandoned in about 1940.
•726 Matakuwä's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi
861 by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwä, who was killed while he
visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowä-täka. Ruwahiwä was
Matakuwä's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi
actively raided Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, and abducted a
large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages,
Matakuwä moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously
lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still
producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by
361 Matakuwä's group, the group split into two villages. One of
[622] them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwä's
[101] son, Sibarariwä. The other group moved to a branch of the
Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawä-tedi, led by
[578] Weiamamowä. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal
[721] feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each
other.

174 Sibarariwä's group remained at Konabuma for a short
361 +628 time after the Paruritawä-tedi separated from them, but raids
722 from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawä-
175 tedi themselves forced Sibarariwä's group to abandon Konabuma

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 175 and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few
361 years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amạrokoböwei:
*628 722 the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was
[589] conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950
[574] [726] Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the
survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden
of Dạdamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids
mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to
174 Amạrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually
175 *628 became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure
574 some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and
589 726 Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which
three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964
361 *628 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca
726 River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and
[114] Mǫmariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this
location about the time I started my field work, and killed
one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

174 175 The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the
*628 Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered
629 574 into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the
726 Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members
of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid
of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four
[361] [722] women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

[174] [175] against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their
628 587 site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi,
574 the group split into two factions, each making a separate
727 726 garden: Mömariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are
36 [621] still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied
[722] to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi
are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's
group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi
and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friend-
628 ship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965
523 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire
574 726 village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they
arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's
group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating
the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the
Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966 721

[178] The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village
composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have
described above may also be observed among these villages at
[114] the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work.
Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times
while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen
[722] different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but
the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never
safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 361 they claimed, was that the Patanowä-tedi had to move fre-
quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were
raiding the Patanowä-tedi, were being raided intensively also.
They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[628] [324] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[221] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[241] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
726 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 *628 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to
mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowä-tedi

*628 726

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] Patanowä in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions,
the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out
of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after
1950, and each group entered into political alliances with un-
related neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
574 *628 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
[58] began visiting Patanowä-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwä, was
[583] given two wives by the Patanowä-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

*628 Patanowä-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-
728 574 tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few
individuals trusted the members of the other group enough
to visit their village.

* 726 By 1964 the Patanowä-tedi had become involved in a
*628 particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages,
and were badly in need of military assistance. Their
only allies were the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group living two
728 days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowä-tedi
*628 527 informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make
574 peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation
to the Patanowä-tedi to demonstrate their interest in
making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village
of Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in
the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the
two groups as groups visited each other.

726 The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a
728 *628 number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intend-
527 ing to abduct Patanowä-tedi women. They succeeded in captur-
574 ing seven women the day that the Patanowä-tedi arrived, and
took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The
Patanowä-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent
a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover
the women. The Patanowä-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and
forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors.
The Patanowä-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out
and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

• 726 over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of
728 *628 ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged.
521 514 The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were
going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

*628 This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political
721 philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak
723 village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a
*628 721 shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

*628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi
722 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across
• 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 Another important event took place while the Monou-
581 tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an
582 593 event that illustrates the same principle of political philo-
*628 sophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

*628 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position.
721 578 They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 721 578 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimö, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowä-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [622] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 728 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kąobäwä, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowä-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. 726 Kąobäwä ultimately led the revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi.

[564] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

726 villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǭmaribõwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi).
[764 266] These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on
[245] the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting
plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next
several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay
[132 221] their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season
in order to make it difficult for the Patanowä-tedi to raid
[361 them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at
*628] the end of March both for military protection and for respite
from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the
Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would
be raided by the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to their own
village before the rains started. They also planned to raid
the Patanowä-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the
wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowä-tedi
[132 would be difficult once the rains started. They could return
221] to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle
separating their village from the Patanowä-tedi is inundated
at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

[769 On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary
*628] feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for
the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were
to include the Mǭmaribõwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as
scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only
a few Mǭmaribõwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid,
and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǭmaribõwei-tedi
were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did [122] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on [361] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowä-tedi at Shɨhota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowä-tedi. The Patanowä-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwä, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726 The Patanowä-tedi could not avenge this killing until 36 the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to *628 their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on [221] [132] May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, raided the Patanowä-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowä-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowä-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowä-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

*726 *628 361 return.

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute [241] the war more vigorously. They collected food from their garden and moved into their new site at Moyenaböwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowä-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowä-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

The Patanowä-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowä-täka, with the Ashadowä-tedi, and their new garden, Shiɨhota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowä-tedi raids against the Hasaböwä-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawä-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawä-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Hasaböwä-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowä-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasaböwä-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasaböwä-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

726 the Patanowä-tedi village and killed her. In subsequent raids both villages resorted to killing even young children.

Thus, the Patanowä-tedi and the Monou-tedi had similar military problems and were solving them in essentially the same way. Both groups made new gardens, but were unable to move to them because the gardens could not support the populations until the plants matured and bore fruit. Both groups were being raided actively by enemies and could not remain 726 *628 at their producing sites. Therefore, each had to rely on aid from an ally. Of the two military situations, that of the Patanowä-tedi was the more critical; they were being raided actively by a dozen villages, whereas the Monou-tedi were being raided by only one enemy. Of the dozen villages raiding the Patanowä-tedi, only five had legitimate revenge reasons for doing so. The remaining villages were participating in the raiding with the hope that their raiders would be able to capture women. The members of these latter villages knew that the Patanowä-tedi could not possibly raid them in return, as there were too many villages enemy to the Patanowä-tedi in the path. Hence, they had women to gain and were almost completely immune to possible revenge raids.

726 *621 Kinship ties mitigating the hostility of the war between the Monou-tedi and the Patanowä-tedi

Up to the middle of 1965, the upper group of Bisaasi-tedi behaved as a single political unit with respect to the war between the Monou-tedi and the Patanowä-tedi. There were,

726 There were,
621 however, two recognizable factions within this group; one
622 602 was led by Kąobäwä, who had many relatives in both Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwä, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowä-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwä's group was linked to Kąobäwä's by a number of marriage ties.

621 622 Kąobäwä was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwä's group, although Paruriwä had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwä began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village
527 headman. Thus, when Kąobäwä initiated a feast for members
574 of an allied village, Paruriwä duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwä, by duplicating Kąobäwä's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

726 622 The emergence of Paruriwä as an important leader was
628 largely the result of his active prosecution of the war
728 against the Patanowä-tedi. Kąobäwä, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowä-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*628
622 from them. Paruriwä seized upon this as his opportunity to
[564] advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
several raids against the Patanowä-tedi without the support
of Kąobäwä. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwä was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 Paruriwä's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwä was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
#621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwä and his group separated from Kąobäwä's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
527 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kąobäwä as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Paruriwä spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

*621 622 361 627 574 one real headman, Kąobäwä. Thus, Paruriwä had to separate from Kąobäwä's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kąobäwä.

728 *628 622 574 In July 1965 Kąobäwä sent his brother-in-law, Kumamawä, to Patanowä-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowä-tedi in the future. When Kumamawä returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowä-tedi trusted Kąobäwä and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowä-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Hąrokoiwä, Masiwä, and Koiyeiwä, arrived. Paruriwä's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowä-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kąobäwä, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kąobäwä, however, warned Paruriwä and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwä and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their [803] [806] plan. Finally, Paruriwä decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowä-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kąobäwä's influence as a leader, and Paruriwä decided *628 574 *726 *621 to move away from Kąobäwä's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

*628 579 visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the
796 plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding
*621 party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to
796 Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organiz-
*628 ing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by
*621 inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village
when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this,
the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower
group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi
had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency,
supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself
sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between
November and February, all of which included men from Monou-
[622] tedi. Kąobäwä did not participate in or encourage these
raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

*621 This split was not the outcome of an internal feud.
622 Rather, it developed out of the different political interests
*628 602 of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to im-
*796 prove his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute
578 the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number
of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did
not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding
the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity
of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-
tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

---

[123] [1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

*621 622 they have; but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-
*623 tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away
668 from Kąobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä
* 726 without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's
578 faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the
Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kąobäwä's group. The
internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this
happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his
leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out
of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior
to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction
will be high.

The split within Patanowä-tedi

726 *621 The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-
*628 152 tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their
respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among
[722] the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at
*621 any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into
578 three groups several years earlier, as the population had
726 [161] reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance.
The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them
[152] to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the
village, and the added tension brought about by the new war
with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari
allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-
tedi a month before I left the field.

---

*621 Moiyoawä had two wives, Borehima and her older
595 sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated
586
578 badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with
[592] another man, Makerawä. Moiyoawä attempted to get his wife
back from Makerawä, precipitating a club fight between two
factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawä
stabbed Moiyoawä with the sharp end of his club, wounding him
badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawä's faction, Rakoiwä,
who then attacked Makerawä, running him through with a sharp-
*[628] ened club, killing him. Makerawä's faction fled from Patanowä-
[361] tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that
the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids
726 against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the
*628 Patanowä-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowä-tedi two times
shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid
they caught two Patanowä-tedi men hunting outside the village.
[602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was
Kąobäwä's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not
want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man,
[115] Shinahewä. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I
learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-
tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was
[598] taken away from Makerawä's group. Moiyoawä cut both her ears
[634] off to punish her.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *628 593 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yąnomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *628 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

184 648 contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare.
721 This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access
to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages.
[411] It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or
[177] among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs
would either defend their co-residents or provide them with
firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of
Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live
near or among Carib Indians.

184 Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal
562 *621 relationship between the shortage of women and the develop-
*628 ment of hostilities within and between villages. The same
578 721 relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the
following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered
721 *629 that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt
562 that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the
• 726 797 woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then
[177] could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age
[595] and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to
accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but
unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that
he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution,
prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had
his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions
fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The
visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where
warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

721
*628
562 relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation
• 726 of inter-village hostilities.[1]
797
177 One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the fre-
121 quency of hostilities within and between villages varies
*621 directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their
*628 sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words,
578
562 internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should
831
721 diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women
to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data
support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five
villages and the data on village movements and warfare during
1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village
warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no
fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of
[162] my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and
has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when mis-
[797]
[177] sionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with
[834] pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feud-
[833] ing reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá
[837] Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

#621
162
551
613

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32. Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33. Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34. Miaiyowä	Sha	M	14	
35. Ömonoiwä	Tom	M	28	
36. Reromawä	Sha	M	53	Headman
37. Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38. Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39. Shiborowä	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40. Tiaböwä	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41. Tomahewä	Tom	M	21	
42. Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43. Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44. Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45. Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46. Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47. Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48. Wakarabewä	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49. Yäbänäma	Kio	F	33	
50. Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51. Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

159
593
591
589
•726
•628

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwä) visited the Patanowä-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowä-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwä), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwä returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwä's wife. As the Patanowä-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-ladened terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon [114] Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from [121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

[276] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

121 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study

726 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomohoni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an

578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is

[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Monou-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
726

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to 114
society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something 123
"good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of [121]
kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We
pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting [361]
my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men [515]
staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco [276]
were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green
powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery [231]
was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the 114
day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that 123
morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting 726
war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having de- 114
cided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were 123
like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

*621 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąno-
*628 mamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges
*621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who
701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old.
722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity
721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being
*• .726 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it
[578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

*[628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 **Fission and settlement** There is a tendency for the group to attempt to
582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep
166 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger
578 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the
837 Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a
level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into
two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at
that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shįhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the
Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
• 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
*628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri
to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned
after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
*621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab-
lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from
the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of
them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up-
[101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to them-
selves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass
commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
*621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much
earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the
fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked
as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above
two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reya-
boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the
[134] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
[648] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[722] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
[578] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

---

[9] This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi.*[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no uhudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the
noreshi aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 **Treatment of the dead** If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with
those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the
bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced
when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[753] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the
[783] burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs,
covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[783] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[562] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

[858] After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously
with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The
charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The ac-
cumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate
burning and chopping. These logs are about [illegible] feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative
fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles
and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches
in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder
by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep pro-
fusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with
boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a
ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, espe-
cially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain
kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing
enemies.

---

[769] [13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

621
162

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mõmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowä-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

[574] They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a
[726] single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These
[628] feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been
extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a
[582] surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see,
they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that
characterize the alliance network in this area.

162
847 **DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS** As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide.* The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill
[802] more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

847 A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant
[862] to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawä's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would
847 be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother
853 eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food 621*
theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned 628*
to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each [245]
tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one [423]
of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between [721]
the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to 722
an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari 628*
villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which
Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba- 628*
teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, 574
including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December- 726●
January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly 527
cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned 727
to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproduc- 361
ing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to 241
recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely 628*
stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

---

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking [797]
the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's [177]
group.

*628 spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live
*621 in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening
241 tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and
cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This
[721] was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the
[726] Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed
• two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the
war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

[361] Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived
[648] at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government
[177] malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River.
Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not
[221] complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they
occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

*621 Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri,
*628 shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village
726 had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast
574 in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an
527 opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the
Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the
727 hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the
*621 women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge
361 raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

*628 This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were
721 (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

---

[115] [16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied 628* 728
to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, 721
extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, 628*
they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without 581
reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained 583
Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing 628*
friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and 726 •
intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a 574
rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months 527
after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons 628*
behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and 581
actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that 582
group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

---

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which [123]
have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted
to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides (114)
forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will being the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

*628 581 582 related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

*621 *628 581 582 This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group. Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects, they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with [726] one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving all of the villages: The Upper Bisaasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisaasi-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mõmariböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mõmariböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

*628 726 581 582 Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed between Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kąobawä's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kąobawä's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowä-teri and it subsequently involved Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

*628 581 582 Marriage in Yąnomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations. It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yąnomamö are practical [183] and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

156 his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men
622 were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several
578 turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

156 Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is
622 unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostenta-
602 tious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters,
[157] whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

622 Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighbor-
726 hood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the
[574] others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

628*

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient 438
cause to visit them. 323

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. 628*
Kąobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it 438
from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured
hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases, [352]
the shortages are merely seasonal; Kąobawä's group may import cotton from a particular
ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves
items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that
trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality 628*
dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of 262
plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to 438
borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a 574
part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal 628*
trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative 438
levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women 574
also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, 562
but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages 581
with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's 582
group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's 726 •
mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kąobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kąobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwaraoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kąobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kąobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yąnomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function 628*
of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from 438

*628 which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the
438 relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this
*628 regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignor-
574 ance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the
182 Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different
[438] groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to
[171] be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the
Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous
quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others
[535] admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues
from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that com-
[555] mands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

*628

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

574 One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics.
[128] Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

[726] The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

---

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

bawä's group arrived. The men of Kąobawä's group danced both singly and en masse and 628*
were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with 574
axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the 726
palisade and escape. Kąobawä's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Möwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawä's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawä's group escape.

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. 628*
Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning 727
to Kreiböwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the [241)
group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreiböwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women.

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally 628*
of Kąobawä's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri head- 722
man himself visited Kąobawä's village and invited the entire group to his village to take 726
refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri.

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawä's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawä's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamö political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the [241]
members of Kąobawä's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawä and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawä and his group.

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawä's group was 628*
invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting 574
against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing 722
the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace.

By 1960, Kąobawä's group had regained some of its military strength and had 628*

*628 begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the
two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri
(see map, Fig. 2-8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the
*621 Möwaraoba-teri. Kąobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the
574 Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the
* 726 tables reversed: Kąobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked
the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria
[131] epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others
were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kąobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kąobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri,
both continuing to remain friendly to Kąobawä's group.

*628 In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kąobawä and his
574 supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to
726 conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind
123 to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kąobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village
[438] passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men
[203] were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up
the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Mission-
[199] aries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kąobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kąobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

628*
neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: 574
The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just 726
before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them 723
had misgivings about the matter and warned them. [802]

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the 628*
vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected 574
their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors [203]
to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in [262]
his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on [252]
the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned
a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, [224]
whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

[533]
That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called [535]
amoamo, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also [777]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off 628* their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique 574 decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would [535] burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kąobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yąnomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they [264] lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kąobawä's [535] village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in [264] the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. [262] 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*wayamou*) began—it continued until 628* dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going- 574 home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children de- 437 parted with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through 438 their headman, and Kąobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men [533] to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

---

[6] During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends [262] and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. [266] The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 [769] for a discussion of the raid. [726]

628* 578 they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

[026] [4-38] Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

628* 574 578 182 In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting. [114]

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

---

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist
for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is
an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance
from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies,
*628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi-
721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this
754 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *hekura* sent by
shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

• 726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag-
578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding
152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill-
154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and
receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the
578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and
are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

*628 original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited
578 aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that
721 took the woman away from the cruel husband.

593 When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week
after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail
of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge
missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors
[727] stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers
regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of
them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

[726] They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This
[797] time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to
[177] borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these
[411] were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived
the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the
mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his
group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the
face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly
died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed
to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups
were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

726
721 The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The
objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered.
If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of
them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the
[115] raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he
went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village
they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit
help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their
pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they
slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A
skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more
of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one
because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by
[727] Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and
tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot
the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[411] [1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries.
[797] The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in
[177] the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now
have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for
these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have
raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, 721
this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention 726
of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of 562
women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and [797]
learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women.
One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of 721
hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New 754
wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope 726
to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. 562
If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more 727
than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take
a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured 727
woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village 562
who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men [602]
as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

*Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge 721
motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club
fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old [245]
one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden
itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the [685]
other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of 721
their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had [562]
met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsäwä, coveted my British commando [114]
knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about [124]
the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

721 him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their
124 enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

721 Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

622 The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

[837] Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent
[578] feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous
affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His
[593] youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her,
thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real
[684] culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to
wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

*621 Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's
group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take
[628] refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against
[595] them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided
[622] to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the
[578] final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri.
Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then
*621 organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give
*628 them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody
• 726

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with 621* 628* Kąobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kąobawä for a second wife. 726 ● Kąobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kąobawä, respectively, were still at war 628* with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's 726 group, after separating from Kąobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä-teri, [728] as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kąobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation 628* of complete peace between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having 728 a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating [114] in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven 628* Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They 562 forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men discovered 721 that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, 726 leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *rasha* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2-6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

726 [606] One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. [602] Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory
[602] brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man
[613] who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-
[607] teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

764 The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary
*628 ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and
574 the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and
[587] friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

726 Kąobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of
602 organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this
622 responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally,
622 Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de
607 facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain
613 headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

723 Kąobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

*628 The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided
722 their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and
241

---

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. 628* They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new 722 site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they 241 knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, 722 maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into 342 a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The 361 visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou- 726 teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by [241] Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved 722 into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle 628* was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

722 *628 [262] [576] Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowä was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

721 •726 *628 The raid Kąobawä organized to revenge Damowä's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reyaböwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly prote[illegible]n and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *wayu h*[illegible] (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women [574] left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

726 On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowä-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawä's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was [825] pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At [123] this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own [126] hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawä stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

411
516
291
342
137
726

Fig. 5-2. Kąobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted 726
there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half [123]
suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording
a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep [533]
baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard
I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his
song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over
my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This [825]
one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kąobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke, 726 and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bubububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

[765] They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

[302] The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red
[291] loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the
[123] younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waju itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them
[622] and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in
[164] his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked.
[701] Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he
[703] did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had
[157] malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waju itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

[484] The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

[372] The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last
[703] evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

142
302
276
726

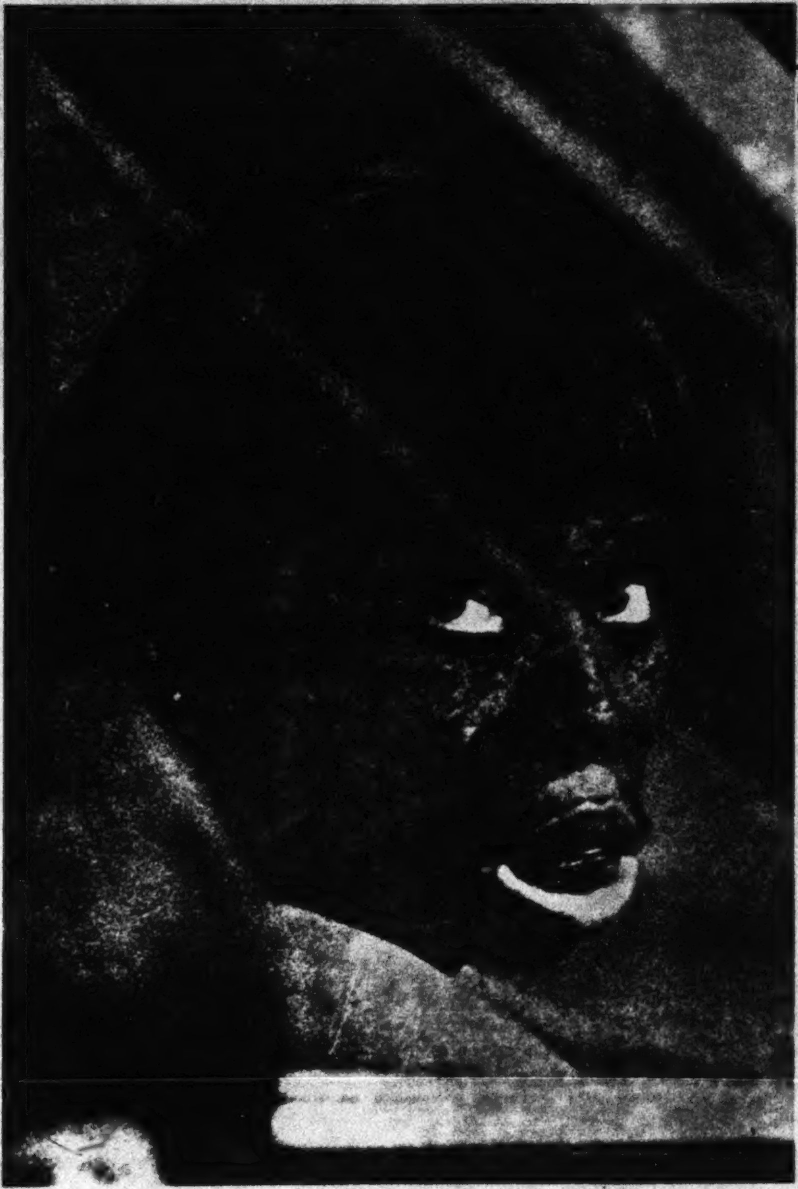

Fig. 5-3. One of Kąobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

726

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *wayu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an
[722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are
well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women
are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to
[578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife,
[593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece
of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawä's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village.
He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi-
[758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite
the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kąobawä was very exhausted from the trip. 726 [484] [501]

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kąobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart. 727 726

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound. 727 [758] [123]

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yąnomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered. [758]

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony. 727 783 [593]

They were given spaces in Kąobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kąobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kąobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they 726 701 [721]

---

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kąobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisaasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisaasi-teri would not borrow it.

142
301
302
516
411
765
276
726

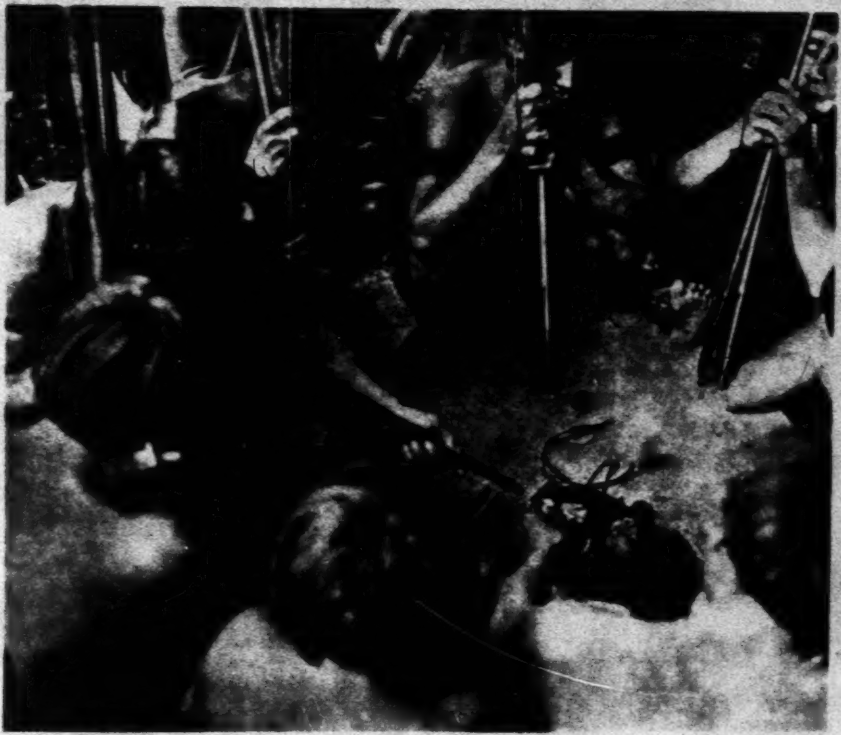

Fig. 5-4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowä, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726 located the enemy, but Paruriwä refused to go any further. When he turned back, so
701 did the entire party.

726 The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowä-teri six times while
114 I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the de-
scription given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the
722 jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their
*628 allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages
or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in
their own producing garden.

726 The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowä-teri without aid from their allies. One
of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their
village at the time the raid was held.

[765] A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing
the ashes of the slain Damowä were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver 726
of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the [765]
quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers [276]
took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first 726
time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell 123
Damowä's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*buhii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bushuo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowä-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowä-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One [703]
had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwä (Fig. 5–5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwä came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back
to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even 726
703

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

142
714
291
726
302

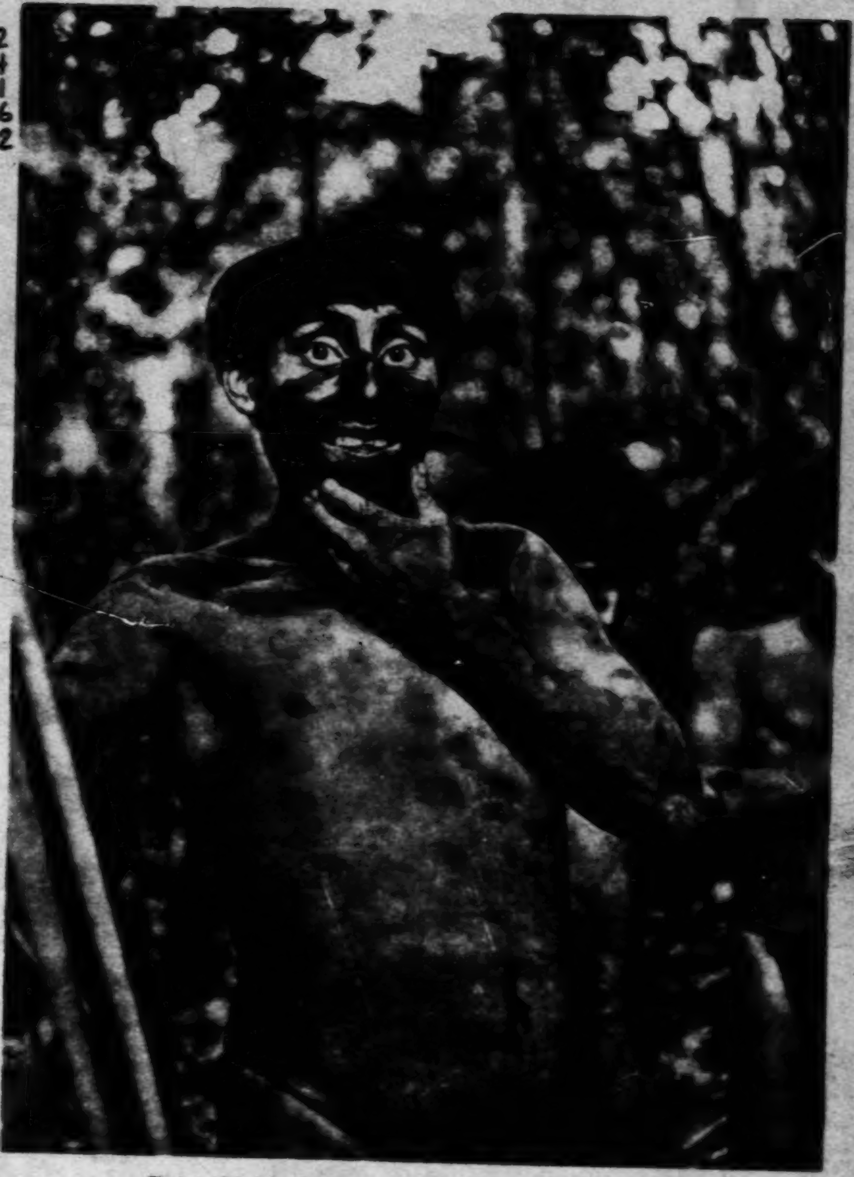

Fig. 5–5. Hukoshikuwä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the 726
younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He 703
was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. [156]
In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate 721
in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He 626
could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen—even Kąobawä—implied 156
by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they com- 721
plained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The 628*
Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's 156
group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, al- 726
though they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in [484]
the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group [721]*
fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri
have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, 628*
they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, 241
they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens 721
makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their
political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their 628*
Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely 581
will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi- 582
teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have
taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and
they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted
Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a com- 628*
mon history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering 662
into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities. 721

[P. 138 is blank]